

175 size of Alabama supports more than twice that state's population. But
 131 Greece has considerably less economic wealth. For instance, only about
 161 25 percent of the land is arable. We see a people which in a fifty-year period
 311 has been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at
 least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earth-
 quakes, and chronic droughts. Although it is a long span between Periclean
 Athens and the Greece which is the keystone of the Eastern Mediterranean
 NATO group, the Greeks, despite their repeated crises, seem to have
 gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit.

101 Every Greek stands out so distinctly as an individual that he defies easy
 184 location along the social spectrum. Is it the fierceness of the struggle to
 156 survive that has produced the sharply outlined individualism of the Greeks?
 181 Despite these marked individual differences, the Greeks can be sorted into
 three general groupings: the city Greeks, the seafaring Greeks, and the
 rural Greeks.² Each group, though sharing much in common, has a some-
 what different orientation in its style of life. Each still depends upon the
 other two for the realization of its national destiny, and each adds its own
 color to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society.

The largest group, and the one least known, is that of the rural Greeks,
 the chief subject of this book. But this group cannot be understood out of
 its social context or without sketching in the outlines of the other two
 groups — the Greeks who live in cities and the Greeks who live by and on
 the sea.

THE CITY GREEK

175 Greek history shows that the Greek has traditionally been a child of the
 369 city. In antiquity he developed the city-state and he colonized through
 167 cities, not through the homestead on some developing frontier. Today, two
 thousand years later, Greek peasants coming to America directly from a
 village take up a trade in a city with much greater alacrity than they take
 829 up farming.³ Behind this feeling at home in the city, which seems to exist in
 most Greeks (but most strongly, of course, in the settled urban classes),
 there is a fact of historic importance: the Greeks learned early that the city
 had a social organization all its own and that from the city radiated lines of
 economic, political, and religious authority. They knew that those who un-
 derstood the city could manipulate these lines.⁴ Thus armed, they were able
 to keep in advance of their neighbors to such an extent that, when the semi-
 nomadic Turks captured the Greek capital (Constantinople) in 1453, the
 conquered Greeks quickly moved into places of prominence and power in the
 conqueror's regime. Consequently, the Greeks through the years have
 become increasingly experienced in the arts of social administration and
 economic dealing in an urban setting. Every event or possible event had its
 "angle" to be weighed judiciously and then energetically exploited.

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

The People of Greece

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the warm morning sunshine, to watch the sailors of the numerous passenger and cargo ships work aboard ship and then relax in the tiny sea-front cafés, and to talk with the families of those whose most energetic sons are away at sea, is an introduction to a world incomprehensible to many peasants in Central and Northern Greece and strange to the inland American. For me, the best hours of all were those spent along the quay of a busy port with a retired sea captain, telling the tales of his misadventures — a 1950 version of the trials of Odysseus. All of these seafarers, fishermen, and merchant seamen, crews and captains and their island-anchored families, are a part of the rainbow in the rock. Yet they, along with the city Greeks, so similar in vitality but different in their life, make up only half of the people of Greece. The other half are rural. It is with this largest single group that we shall concern ourselves.

THE GREEK VILLAGER

Being rural in Greece means living in a village, which is usually a picturesque collection of houses, lanes, gardens, orchards, vineyards, and fields. It also means that one is a peasant, since the Greek terms *choriates*, *chorikas*, derived from the word *choria* (village), are the closest approximations of *peasant* in the Greek language. But any Westerner, in seeking to understand the rural Greek, needs to divest himself of many false notions about the nature of a peasantry, be these on the romantic side of overidealization or on the derogatory plane of considering them mere bearers of burdens and dull plodders through life."

In not all countries do peasants always live in villages, but they do in Greece. Therefore, in examining social life throughout the Greek mainland, away from the cities, we can use *villager*, *peasant*, and *rural population* interchangeably, feeling that if we understand Greek village life, we also shall have gained a point of comparison for the study of peasantries in other countries.

The importance of the small village in Greek life can best be shown by a few figures taken from the 1951 census. For instance, 44.6 percent — or almost half of the Greek people — lived in 5,473 communes, or local political units, of less than 2,000 inhabitants. At the other extreme was Athens, whose population included 18 percent of the nation's total; by 1961 it had reached 22 percent. Since 1940 there has been a definite drift toward Athens and the twenty other towns which in 1940 had a population of over 20,000. Despite this urban trend, one must still recognize that the small village is an imposing aspect of Greek life which deserves far more attention than it has received in the past.

Although rural people today are increasingly drawn to the city, the peasant in years past has been a man of the land, usually suspicious of city ways. And herein lies a question: are these millions of peasants, following a daily

Mountains, Plains, and the Sea

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someone like Arnold Toynbee that Greece's early greatness grew out of the stern necessity to respond to the challenge of a partly hostile environment and a population growing beyond its means of subsistence.

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Although the study of Greece's past shows that the cultural, or man-made, aspects of life have been tremendously important, one must nevertheless give the physical environment its just due. This leads to a consideration of some of the cold, hard facts about the rock that is Greece.

THE REGIONS OF GREECE

Each of the regions of Greece, shown on the accompanying map, has its own assortment of mountains, plains, and a stretch of coastline; each has its own history and traditions; each has its own problems posed by the

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- 101 physical environment. To follow the story of village life in Greece as portrayed in this book, one must be able to go imaginatively from one part of Greece to another, since every experience described will be related to the place where it occurred.

[63] *Macedonia*, linked historically with Alexander the Great and the missionary activities of St. Paul, is a part of the administrative division of Northern Greece. Its northern mountain barrier separates it from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, each of which has adjoining territory which it too calls Macedonia. The Greeks believe that no area has been more bloodied over than Macedonia, where Greek and Slav meet.

[563] *Thrace*, to the east, is also in Northern Greece and is the one area where the Turkish minority still live. Like Macedonia, it is famous for the Oriental kind of tobacco grown there.

[249] *Epirus*, the northwestern province, is a mountainous land of great beauty and stormy traditions. It borders Albania.

[433] *Thessaly*, south of Macedonia, boasts Mount Olympus and fertile plains which produce a fifth of the country's wheat.

[243] *Central Greece*, stretching from the Ionian to the Aegean Seas, holds many tourist attractions such as Thebes, Delphi, and Athens. It also includes the slender island of Euboea along its eastern flank.

The Peloponnesos, separated from the rest of mainland Greece by the Corinth Canal, is an archaeologist's paradise. It is important agriculturally as well as being intimately connected with Greece's liberation from Turkey in 1829.

In addition to these regions on the mainland there are five island groupings in the Greek kingdom:

The Aegean Islands hug the coast of Turkey. Lesbos is the largest, Chios perhaps the best known.

[648] *The Dodecanese Islands*, to the southeast of the mainland, came under Greek control after World War II with the defeat of the Italians. Rhodes, the chief island, is one of the major tourist attractions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

[778] *The Cyclades Islands* are also to the southeast of, but nearer to, mainland Greece. Tinos, one of these islands, is the site of a miracle-working shrine visited by thousands of visitors every year on the Day of the Assumption.

[788] *Crete* stands alone. Its civilization predates that of the mainland. Because of its better soil, more of its people are interested in farming than in fishing or shipping.

[73] *The Ionian Islands*, on the west coast of Greece, were the hardest hit in the devastating earthquakes of August 1953. They include the beautiful island of Corfu, which was not damaged, as well as Ithaca, home of Odysseus.

These regions, particularly those of the mainland, will be more than names on the map as one becomes familiar with the peasants who dwell in them and with many of the natural features associated with the mountains, the plains, and the sea.

Preface and Acknowledgments

THE FIELD WORK on which this book is based was conducted largely in 1955-1956 under a Fulbright grant, with supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. I am very grateful for this assistance. Return visits were made to the village for several weeks in the summer of 1959, and for two days in July 1961. 12 101

Margaret Mead and Hortense Powdermaker were most generous with their time during the initial stages of the project. In Greece, John Caskey, Peter and Eva Topping, Eurydice Demetracopoulou, Korali Krokodilou, and Olympias Kokkevi gave valuable advice, assistance, and encouragement. 000

John Melios, Nomarch of Boeotia at the time we resided there, helped in selecting the village and introduced my husband and me to the villagers. Our gratitude to him is very great both for this initial help and for his continued interest. Our thanks go also to K. Chlimintzas of the Agricultural Bank of Greece in Levadhia. 122

The family of Athanasius T. Triantaphyllou, who took us into their home in Vasilika, put us greatly in their debt for many kindly services besides.

Discussions with many scholars have contributed much to this book, though of course I bear sole responsibility for the points of view presented. I should like to mention Henry and Renee Kahane, Sidney Axelrad and Sylvia Brody, and John Andromedas, Fred Gearing, Popie Mohring, Irwin T. Sanders, and Conrad Arensberg. 000

My participation in the Wenner-Gren Conference on Rural Peoples of the Mediterranean at Burg Wartenstein, Austria, in 1959, and in the similar conference at the Athenian Social Science Center in Athens in 1961, helped me greatly. Special thanks are due to Julian Pitt-Rivers and to John Peristiany, the organizers of the two conferences.

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Selection of the Village

The author's intimate relationship with the farmers of the village and his use of it as a demonstration center for village extension work has led him to select it for this study. Another reason that led the author to select it was of the uniform economy and the uniform social stratification. Due to equal distribution of land there were no class distinctions.

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Available Data Based on Eight Years of Experience.

The discussions and principles discussed in Rural Social Organization, under Dr. Sanderson, are applied as far as they fit the conditions. A careful farm survey was taken with 40 representative farmers out of 120 families. These farmers were representatives due to the fact that only 6 years elapsed since the equal distribution of land. They had the same implements and all of them had nothing except what they got from the government. My close relationship with them and the nature of my work has helped me in my observations. /5/

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The village of Megali Vrissi: Its location, geography and physical characteristics.

The village of Megali Vrissi is only 45 kilometers from the city of Salonica. It lies in the south-central part of Macedonia. Before the refugees moved in, it was occupied by the Turks who at the arrival of the Greeks left for Turkey. Its Turkish name was Armoutchi. Previous to this Turkish name it had a Greek name. The foundations of the mosque that were dug by the refugees in order to get the stones bore in Greek letters the date that it was built and the names of the church committee. In fact many of the names of the surrounding villages were changed quite often at different periods by the respective people that occupied them, either Turks, Bulgarians, Albanians or Greeks.

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GREECE¹

The culture of the Greeks is here presented as an integrated whole. 105
 The Greeks have been selected out of the European nations now engaged in introducing technical change, because they represent a unique case. They have the most ancient civilization of the European continent, yet their technical development at present is one of the lowest. The history of their industries and factories goes back more than 2,500 years; yet they now resist industrialization. They are European, yet they look toward the Middle East and share a number of attitudes with the people of this area. They are Christians but with a special kind of Christianity, highly ritualized and impersonal, and incorporating much of local origin. [101] ●

Individualism is prized and rampant; yet there is no atomization. 105
 Self-esteem is paramount, and rests on freedom and self-dependence; 156
 yet Greeks do not seek freedom from the family, and do not lose self-esteem when they are dependent on the family. They have their own unique individualism. They are highly co-operative, but the basis and formulation of their co-operative activity are different from those of the Western European nations.

¹ The study of Greek culture is based largely on interviews, correspondence, and memoranda, conducted and prepared in the autumn and winter of 1950-51. Newspapers and magazines of this time were also consulted. Two Maternal and Child Care Manuals of recent years, several collections of folk songs, and a popular humorous work were intensively analysed. Accounts by people engaged in introducing change were consulted. The writer, herself a Greek by birth and upbringing, has depended also on her own firsthand experience of the culture. The manuscript was submitted to two Greeks for comment and criticism. 123 124

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The Macedonians

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000 1. Konak in Alaklissa. 2. Shepherd's hut of loam and straw in the Campania, the lowlands north of Salonika. 3. Fortress-like warehouse in Palalitza. 4. Peasant woman at a weaving loom in Skoplje. 5. Farmyard near Skoplje. 6. Bagpipes. 7. Baking bell. 8. Magical charm. 9. and 10. Votive offerings. 11. Cotton cleaner (hatter's bow). 12. Riding donkey. 13. Pottery oven near Skoplje. 14. Armchair. 15. Plowing farmer. 16. Brand iron used for branding sheep. 17. Incense pot. 18. Earthenware cover for the coal basin, used for keeping the heat in; on top of it is placed the pot or coffee jug.¹

(Numbers 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, and 11 are in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Hamburg. Numbers 13, 16, and 17 in the Ethnographisches Museum at Dresden. Numbers 4, 5, 12, 13, and 16 are photographs taken by Generaloberarzt /Chief surgeon-general/ Dr. Hansen in Lübeck.)

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144 In the lowlands between Albania, old Bulgaria, and Greece, that is, in Macedonia, and incessant movement of peaceable and war-like peoples has produced the racial mixture of present-day Macedonia, in which the Indo-Germanic Thracians constitute the basic stock. To this were added, in antiquity, Romans, in the middle ages Slavs and Bulgarians, Turks and their Turkomanic or Near Eastern camp-followers; and, finally, Rumanians, Greeks, and the tribally related Albanians. The level tracts of land along the coast and the
231 swampy lowlands are maintained by a nomadic type of livestockbreeding;
241 the fertile fringe areas provide ample yields from the grain agriculture which cultivates primarily wheat and maize, but they are also receptive
342 to southerly cultures such as rice, opium, and cotton. The herders build for themselves hasty round huts of loam and straw; the field guards who here, as in all the other parts of the Balkans, watch over the cultivated fields all through the summer, construct frame-works shaped like beehives or pointed cones out of intertwined twigs and thick bundles of straw. Simple farmsteads also have a thatched roof on walls of tiles and loam; a combination of wood, loam, and tiles leads to two-storied panel-work structures (Figure 2) which contain, in the ground floor,
[For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 73a--Anahy3]